

## Marisa Kellam

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### Academic Appointments

Visiting Scholar, Center for Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law, Stanford University	2021–2022
Director, English-based Degree Program, School of Political Science and Economics, Waseda University	2018–2021
Associate Professor, Faculty of Political Science and Economics, Waseda University	2016–
Associate Professor (non-tenured), Waseda Institute for Advanced Study	2013–16
Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Texas A&M University	2006–13

### Education

Ph.D., Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles	2007
M.A., Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles	2000
B.A., Political Science and Latin American & Iberian Studies, <i>Summa Cum Laude</i> University of California, Santa Barbara	1995
Visiting Student, Institute for Quantitative Social Science, Harvard University	2005–06
EITM Summer Institute, Washington University, St. Louis	2004
Educational Year Abroad Program, Universidad Complutense de Madrid	1993–94

### Peer-Reviewed Publications

- Kellam, Marisa. 2017. "[Why Preelectoral Coalitions in Presidential Systems?](#)" *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 391-411.
- Alemán, Eduardo and Marisa Kellam. 2017. "[The Nationalization of Presidential Elections in the Americas.](#)" *Electoral Studies* 47 (June): 125-135.
- Kellam, Marisa and Elizabeth A. Stein. 2016. "[Silencing Critics: When and How Presidents Restrict Media Freedom in Democracies.](#)" *Comparative Political Studies* 49(1): 36–77.
- Kellam, Marisa. 2015. "[Parties for Hire: How Particularistic Parties Influence Presidents' Governing Strategies.](#)" *Party Politics* 21(4): 511–526.
- Stein, Elizabeth A. and Marisa Kellam. 2014. "[Programming Presidential Agendas: Partisan and Media Environments that Lead Presidents to Fight Crime and Corruption.](#)" *Political Communication* 31 (1): 25–52.
- Kellam, Marisa. 2013. "[Suffrage Extensions and Voting Patterns in Latin America: Is Mobilization a Source of Decay?](#)" *Latin American Politics and Society* 55 (4): 23–46.
- Alemán, Eduardo and Marisa Kellam. 2008. "[The Nationalization of Electoral Change in the Americas.](#)" *Electoral Studies* 27 (2): 193– 212.

## Other Publications and Posts

2019. "Citizenship and Contemporary Direct Democracy by David Altman, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019, xxiii + 258 pp." *The Developing Economies* 57(4). Book Review.
- 2019 September. "In Pursuit of Work-Life Balance in America and in Japan." *Sankaku News* No. 22, the newsletter of the Office for Promotion of Equality and Diversity at Waseda University.
2018. "Media Freedom Decline in Democracies: Lessons from Latin America." In "Symposium: Fake News and the Politics of Misinformation," edited by Matt Golder and Sona Golder. *CP: Newsletter of the Comparative Politics Organized Section of the American Political Science Association* 28(2, Fall): 44-49.
2017. May 3. "Why Pre-Electoral Coalitions in Presidential Systems?" Guest post, Presidential Power blog.
2017. February 16. "Trump's war on the news media is serious. Just look at Latin America." *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage. (with Elizabeth A. Stein)

## External Grants

JSPS Researcher ID#30711866

- Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) 2020–25  
(Principal Investigator, 20K01457, "Transitions within Democracy: Institutions, Interests, and Accountability")
- Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) 2017–19  
(Principal Investigator, 17K03565, "Explaining Media Freedom Decline in Democracies")
- Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Grant-in-Aid for Research Activity Start-Up 2013–14  
(Principal Investigator, 25885083, "Parties for Hire: Non-Programmatic Parties in Coalitional Politics")
- National Science Foundation, Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant, SES-0417396 2004–06  
(Co-Principal Investigator, "Party System Regionalization and the Length of Coalitions in Latin America")

## Internal Grants and Fellowships

- Grant for Special Research Projects, Waseda University, 2015, 2016, 2019
- Grant for the Promotion of International Joint Research, Waseda University, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018
- Grant for Special Research Projects for Newly-Hired Faculty, Waseda University, 2013–14
- Program to Enhance Scholarly and Creative Activities Grant, TAMU, 2012
- Faculty Research Enhancement Grant, College of Liberal Arts, TAMU, 2009
- APSA Political Methodology Diversity Committee Fellowship for Summer Methods Meeting, 2008
- EITM Summer Institute Fellowship, Washington University, St. Louis, 2004
- Dissertation Year Fellowship, UCLA, 2005–06
- Philip & Aida Siff Educational Foundation Graduate Fellowship, UCLA, 2004–05
- Departmental Fellowship, UCLA, 2005
- Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship: Portuguese, 2004–05
- University Research Mentorship, UCLA, 2002–03
- Field Research Grant, Ford Foundation/UCLA (declined), 2000
- Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship: Quechua, 1999–2000
- Field Research Grant, Tinker Foundation/UCLA, 1999
- Charles F. Scott Fellowship, UCLA, 1998–99

## **Awards**

Waseda Presidential Teaching Award, Fall 2021

Best Student Paper, Latin American Political Institutions Section (LAPIS), Latin American Studies Association, 2005

City Club Prize for academic achievement, First Place Recipient (\$10000), UCSB, 1996

Phi Beta Kappa Honor Society, UCSB, 1995

## **Work-in-Progress**

*Presidents versus the Press: Media Freedom and Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, book manuscript in progress (with Elizabeth A. Stein)

This book explains the contentious relationships between presidents and the press in democratic Latin America. Normative and empirical democratic theory identifies an important role for the media in democratic accountability. Yet, the media only can perform this job when they can work safely, freely and independently from government. Here in lies a deficit of accountability trap: the media's vulnerability to government infringements on their freedom increases as the quality of horizontal accountability declines. Where legislatures and judiciaries hold weak powers relative to executives, they cannot adequately constrain presidents from taking actions against the media. Our theorizing of this trap leads to our president-centered explanation for media freedom decline in Latin America. Empirically, we focus on Latin America's "left-turn," the period that followed Hugo Chavez' election as president of Venezuela. Employing a nested analysis research design, we support our argument using quantitative cross-national analysis of Freedom House's Press Freedom Index from 1996-2015 and we examine the causal mechanism and un-pack the press freedom scores using comparative case studies of several presidencies in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and El Salvador.

"Dying in Darkness: The Dynamic Relationship between Media Freedom and Democratic Backsliding" (with Elizabeth A. Stein)

This paper examines how declines in media freedom contribute to the process of democratic backsliding. Our argument differs from a tautological claim that restricting the media implies a decline in democracy simply because democracy by definition includes free media. While we accept this definition, our claim here is that illiberal leaders purposefully rein in freedom of the press as a proactive strategy to concentrate power in the executive branch and as a preemptive strategy to weaken accountability actors who might try to prevent their power grab. To model the process of democratic backsliding, we employ a dynamic panel-data analysis to time-series, cross-sectional dataset covering the period from 1996 to 2016. In particular, we show that declines in press freedom precede increases in electoral manipulation and decreases in institutional checks on executive power. Our results further indicate that changes in media freedom have lasting effects on democratic accountability over the long-run.

"What Causes Democratic Backsliding: Populism or Dominant Executives?" (with Antonio Benasaglio Berlucchi)

This project examines the causes of democratic backsliding in a quantitative analysis using time-series, cross-sectional data. Studies of democratic backsliding often focuses on the infamous cases of decline that make front-page news, yet we lack systematic analysis of the full range of potential cases that would allow us to distinguish leadership- and ideology-centered arguments from institutional and structural arguments. With this goal in mind, we compare the effect of populists and dominant executives on democratic backsliding, while using a global dataset of executives elected in democracies and applying matching methods to our panel data to improve the validity of causal inference.

### Invited Research Presentations

- “Dying in Darkness: Press Freedom and Democratic Backsliding in the Americas.” Invited presentation at Amherst University, hosted by Professor Javier Corrales, November 2020
- “Can Democracy Survive *without* Free Media?” Invited presentation at the Waseda-Irvine Conference on Political Economy, hosted by the Jack W. Peltason Center for the Study of Democracy (UC Irvine) and the Center for Positive Political Economy (Waseda), October 2018
- “Reassessing the Empirical Relationship Between Democracy and Media Freedom: How the Measures You Choose Affect the Answers You Get.” Invited presentation at the Center for Positive Political Economy at Waseda University, March 2017
- “Leveling the Playing Field? A Qualitative Analysis of Presidential Actions Curtailing Media Freedom in Latin America.” Invited presentation at the symposium on the Economy and Politics of Latin America in the Second Half of the 2010s: Actual Situation and Perspectives for the Future at the Center for Integrated Area Studies, Kyoto University, January 2017
- “Presidents and Press Freedom in Ecuador.” Invited conference on Media Freedom in Latin America, Center for Research and Teaching in Economics (CIDE) in Mexico City, December 2015
- “Latin Americas Accountability Deficit Trap: Declining Political Competition and Declining Media Freedom.” Invited talk at the Keio Comparative Politics Seminar Series at Keio University, October 2015
- “The Nationalization of Presidential Elections in Latin America.” Invited presentation (with Eduardo Alemán) at the Nationalization of Electoral Politics: Frontiers of Research workshop at the University of Zurich, Switzerland, September 2015
- “Winning Coalitions in Presidential Systems: Pre-Electoral Alliances and Post-Electoral Governments.” Invited talk at the Political Institutions workshop at Keio University in Tokyo, Japan, March 2015
- “Political Parties and Coalitional Instability in Comparative Perspective.” Invited talk at Waseda Institute for Advanced Study, Waseda University, July 2013
- “Credible Coalitions? Preelectoral Agreements and Postelectoral Governments in Latin America.” Invited talk at the Department of Political Science and Latin American Studies Program, University of New Orleans, April 2011
- “How Particularistic Parties Influence Presidents’ Governing Strategies in Latin America.” Invited talk at the School of Political Science and Economics, Waseda University, June 2009
- “Hired Help: Explaining Minority Government in Latin America.” Invited talk at the Latin Americanist Workshop, Department of Political Science, University of Houston, October 2008
- “Parties-for-Hire: The Instability of Presidential Coalitions in Latin America.” Presentation at the 2nd Regional Latin Americanist Conference, Texas A&M University, October 2007.

### Conference Presentations

- Kellam, Marisa. “Can Democracy Survive *without* Free Media?” Presentation at the World Social Science Forum, Fukuoka, Japan, September 2018.
- Kellam, Marisa. Participation in “Authors Meet Critics: A Roundtable Discussion on *Coalitional Presidentialism in Comparative Perspective*” at the International Political Science Association World Congress, Brisbane, Australia, July 2018.
- Stein, Elizabeth A. and Marisa Kellam. “Can Democracy Survive without Media Freedom? Latin American Cases of Democratic Backsliding in Comparative Context.” Presentation at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Barcelona, Spain, May 2018.
- Kellam, Marisa and Elizabeth A. Stein. “Decentralization and Media Freedom in Democracies.” Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, USA, September 2017.

- Stein, Elizabeth A. and Marisa Kellam. "Can Democracy Survive *without* Media Freedom? A cross-national analysis of media freedom and democratic decay." Paper presented at the Political Communications Pre-Conference of the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, University of San Francisco, San Francisco, USA, August 2017.
- Kellam, Marisa and Elizabeth A. Stein. "Reassessing the Empirical Relationship Between Democracy and Media Freedom: How the Measures You Choose Affect the Answers You Get" Presentation at the Midwest Political Science conference, Chicago, USA, April 2017.
- Kellam, Marisa and Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo. "Winning Coalitions in Presidential Systems: Pre-Electoral Alliances and Post-Electoral Governments." Presentation at the European Consortium for Political Research at Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic, September 2016.
- Kellam, Marisa. "Press Freedom and Popular Protests: An Alternative Path to Presidential Accountability in Latin America?" Presentation at the Japanese Association of Comparative Politics conference at Kyoto Sangyo University in Kyoto, Japan, June 2016.
- Kellam, Marisa and Elizabeth A Stein. "Press Freedom and Popular Protests: An Alternative Path to Presidential Accountability in Latin America?" Presentation at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association in San Diego, USA, March 2016.
- Kellam, Marisa and Elizabeth A. Stein. "Accountability Deficit Trap: Declining Political Competition and Media Freedom" Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in San Francisco, USA, September 2015.
- Stein, Elizabeth A. and Marisa Kellam. "Cartels, Corruption and Courts: Why Federalism (in Latin America) May Exacerbate Threats to Media Freedom." Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Washington, D.C., USA, August 2014.
- Kellam, Marisa and Elizabeth A Stein. "Checking Presidents: Media and Horizontal Mechanisms of Accountability in Latin America." Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association in Chicago, USA, September 2013.
- Stein, Elizabeth A. and Marisa Kellam. "Silencing Critics: When and How Presidents Restrict Media Freedom." Presentation at the International Political Science Association World Congress, Madrid, Spain, July 2012.
- Kellam, Marisa. "Why Presidential Preelectoral Coalitions?" Presentation at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Francisco, USA, May 2012.
- Kellam, Marisa and Elizabeth A. Stein. "Checking Presidents: Media and Partisan Mechanisms of Accountability in Latin America." Presentation at the Midwest Political Science Association conference, Chicago, USA, April 2012.
- Kellam, Marisa. "Why Presidential Preelectoral Coalitions?" Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, USA, September 2011.
- Kellam, Marisa. "Credible Coalitions? Preelectoral Agreements and Postelectoral Governments in Latin America." Presentation at the Midwest Political Science Association conference, Chicago, USA, April 2011.
- Kellam, Marisa. "Credible Coalitions? Preelectoral Agreements and Postelectoral Governments in Latin America." Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, USA, September 2010.
- Kellam, Marisa. "Hired Help: Explaining Minority Government in Latin America." Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, USA, September 2008.
- Kellam, Marisa. "Hired Help: Explaining Minority Government in Latin America." Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, USA, September 2007.
- Kellam, Marisa. "When Politics is Local: Coalition Instability in Latin America." Presentation at the International Political Science Association World Congress, Fukuoka, Japan, July 2006.

Kellam, Marisa. "Shifting Majorities: Multiparty Coalitions and Support for Presidential Agendas within Latin American Legislatures." Presentation at the Midwest Political Science Association conference, Chicago, USA, April 2006.

Kellam, Marisa. "Shifting Majorities: Multiparty Coalitions and Support for Presidential Agendas within Latin American Legislatures." Presentation at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 2006.

Kellam, Marisa. "Parties-for-Hire: The Instability of Presidential Coalitions in Latin America." Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC, USA, September 2005.

Kellam, Marisa. "The Nationalization of Electoral Change in Latin America." Presentation at the Political Methodology conference at Florida State University in Tallahassee, USA, July 2005.

Kellam, Marisa. "When Politics is Local: Coalition Instability in Latin America." Presentation at the Midwest Political Science Association conference, Chicago, USA, April 2005.

Kellam, Marisa. "When Politics is Local: Coalition Instability in Latin America." Presentation at the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Las Vegas, USA, October 2004.

Kellam, Marisa. "When Politics is Local: Coalition Instability in Latin America." Presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, USA, August 2004.

Alemán, Eduardo and Marisa Kellam. "The Nationalization of Electoral Change in Latin America." Presented at the Midwest Political Association conference, Chicago, USA, April 2004.

Kellam, Marisa. "Electoral Participation and Party System Institutionalization in Latin America, An Empirical Analysis." Presented at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Long Beach, USA, March 2002.

## Teaching

Courses and Seminars at Waseda University:

- Introduction to Political Analysis
- Comparative Politics of New Democracies
- Political Institutions

- Undergraduate Seminar in Comparative Politics
- Graduate Seminar in Comparative Politics
- Global Leadership Fellows Program Seminar in US-Japan Politics

Courses at Texas A&M University:

- Introduction to Comparative Politics
- Political Systems of Latin America
- Introduction to Political Science Research Methods (writing-intensive)
- Theory and Methods in Comparative Politics, Graduate Seminar

## Professional Service

Reviewer for the *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *Party Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *Governance*, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *Política y Gobierno*, *European Political Science Review*, *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Research and Politics*, *Latin American Research Review*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *Electoral Studies*, *Journal of Elections*, *Public Opinion and Parties*, *Japanese Journal of Political Science*

V-Dem East Asia Regional Center, Research Fellow and Steering Committee Member, 2020 -